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HERBERT S. CONRAD, *Editor*

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## Acculturation and Illness

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

**C**RIME, suicide, and mental disease are examples of abnormal behavior which commonly are correlated with foreign nativity and ethnic background. Recent neurotic behavior and psychosomatic conditions (29, 30, 31) have been found to be in part expressions of maladjustment due to culture change. In the present paper an attempt is made to study the dynamics of culture change from ethnic to American in relation to illness. The investigation is concerned primarily with three questions:

1. What aspects of culture change are sources of stress and strain?
2. What types of diseases and injuries are particularly related to problems of acculturation?
3. What therapeutic and preventive procedures are helpful?

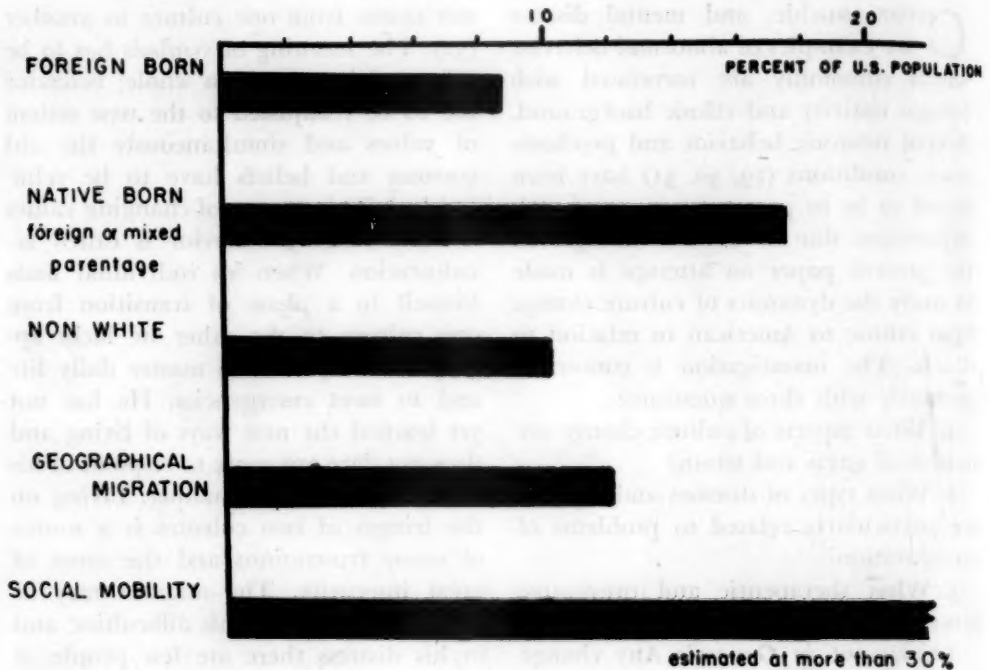
*Adjustment in General:* Any change in a person's relationship to the environment requires adjustment. The greater the change the more difficult is the adjustment. Changes requiring readjustment following events such as death, birth, and marriage, or changes in economic status, prestige, or health are known to everybody (29). These common events may tax the adaptability of the individual to the utmost. There are, however, in any given culture prescribed ways of behaving and meeting emergencies; relatives, friends, ministers, and doctors can be asked for help, advice, and reassurance. The individual is usually aware of his difficulties and has available learned responses to meet the situation.

*Acculturation or Adjustment to Culture Change:* A more fundamental type of change involving the whole orientation of the individual occurs when a per-

son moves from one culture to another (32). The meaning of symbols has to be relearned in part or in whole; behavior has to be readjusted to the new system of values and simultaneously the old customs and beliefs have to be relinquished. This process of changing values and rearranging behavior is called acculturation. When an individual finds himself in a phase of transition from one culture to the other he lacks appropriate responses to master daily life and to meet emergencies. He has not yet learned the new ways of living and does not dare any more to respond in his old and accustomed manner. Living on the fringes of two cultures is a source of many frustrations and the cause of great insecurity. The migrant may or may not be aware of his difficulties; and in his distress there are few people, if any, to whom he can turn for help. Unless he wishes to lead a life of complete isolation he will, therefore, attempt to acculturate.

*Factors in Culture Change:* The ease of adaptation depends largely upon the sameness of the two cultures. Similarity in the use of objects, in the techniques of mastery, and in the system of values, determines the closeness of the two cultures. While the relearning of the meaning of external symbols, customs, and habits is relatively easy, the difficulties increase when the value systems have to be revised. Things, activities, and attitudes are classified in any one culture on a scale which runs from good to evil, from desirable to undesirable, from proper to improper, and from acceptable to unacceptable. To follow and to do the good and proper thing is rewarded,

## CULTURE CHANGE IN AMERICA



### MORE THAN 50 % OF U.S. POPULATION EXPERIENCE CULTURE CHANGE

FIGURE 1

whether by recognition and status, or by materialistic rewards such as money, presents or privileges. Improper behavior, on the contrary, is punished by rejection, isolation, confiscation of property, restriction of liberty, condemnation to excessive or forced labor, and death. The extent to which the same things and activities are rewarded in the two cul-

tures determines the possible speed and ease of acculturation. The extent of similarity and differences between nations can be summarized in the concept of culture distance. The success in the adjusting to a new country will largely depend upon the basic distance of the two cultures, regardless of the flexibility and other merits of the individual.

When an individual migrates into a new cultural setting there are fundamentally three types of adjustment possible. The first method consists of seeking compatriots in an attempt to re-establish the old culture in the new surroundings. Another path is chosen if there are no compatriots in the vicinity, in which case the migrant may attempt to behave as if he were in the old culture, disregarding the new surroundings as much as possible and letting the other people adapt to him. The third way consists of accepting the behavior patterns and values of the new setting. It is probable that migrants use all three types of adjustment, but in this country the emphasis lies upon the third method, which in part is the subject of this investigation. Regardless of the cultural distance or type of adjustment preferred by the migrant, acculturation will be further modified by the latter's personality features. Factors such as age, sex, intelligence, maturity, and traits such as extroversion, introspection, isolation, avoidance, sociability, as well as the personal value-system will influence the adjustment of the individual.

*Magnitude of Problem:* According to the census of 1940 there were about one hundred thirty-two million people living in the United States; eleven and a half million (8.8 per cent) were foreign born whites, and about twenty-three mil-

lion (17.5 per cent) were native born whites of foreign or mixed parentage; thirteen and a half million (10.2 per cent) were non-white people, composed primarily of Negroes and to a lesser degree of Chinese, Japanese, Indian and other races. It is safe to estimate that many of these people have problems in acculturation; the foreign borns in adjusting to the American culture, the native borns with foreign or mixed parentage because of their dual value system, and the non-white people because they are a minority group. In addition to the problems of foreigners and colored minorities, acculturation takes place when an individual changes his social class membership and moves from country to city or from one region of the United States to another. While it is difficult to estimate the extent of social mobility upwards or downwards, several studies (29, 30, 31) seem to indicate that at least one-third of a hospital's patient population is involved in an overt status change. As far as migration is concerned, we know that the census of 1940 classified 12.0 per cent of the U. S. population as having migrated either within the State or from contiguous or non-contiguous States. Considering all these figures together one can safely state that over one-half of the population of the United States is in the process of major or minor culture change (Figure 1).

## CHAPTER II

### PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH IN ACCULTURATION

**A**nxiety and Frustration: To know how to cope with the environment means security. In changing from one culture to another the "know how" gets lost and the individual becomes insecure (10). Goals which formerly were achieved easily may be reached only after some delay or not at all. Expenditure of a great deal of energy in these partially futile attempts creates a stress situation which means that the individual has to operate at a higher level of alertness, working at the upper level of his physical and mental resources. If this exploitation of the organism continues for any length of time signs of fatigue arise which decrease efficiency and increase susceptibility to illness and accident. This phenomenon is unspecific and occurs in a variety of stress-producing situations.

In culture change there is a more specific source of frustration, which is related to the management of aggression. In the course of maturation all individuals develop certain channels used for discharge of tension and superfluous energy. Daily activities such as talking to people, visiting friends, making love, playing games, participating in sports, and working are used for this purpose. In culture change these daily methods have to be relearned and readjusted to the new surroundings. Meanwhile tension accumulates in the individual without proper release. One channel in particular is obliterated. In all culture groups it is customary to discharge tension and hostility by directing the destructive impulses against the out-group. The migrant, however, neither belongs to an in-group nor to an out-group, and

the people of his immediate surroundings are made up of an out-group rather than an in-group; he does not belong yet, and therefore he cannot channelize his hostility. This vicious circle: acculturation—frustration—anger—hostility on the native's side—delayed acculturation—increased frustration—is one of the main reasons for the unhappiness of the migrant. The apparent aggressiveness of foreigners is obviously related to the loss of the common discharge channels, with subsequent diffusion of hostility into a variety of contacts and activities. When frustration reaches a certain intensity the migrant may drop all defenses. He feels there is no use in covering up any more and he proceeds to attack his surroundings in a self-destructive way because of his inability to tolerate further frustration. These difficulties in the management of anger and frustration result in increased tension, with all of its psychosomatic implications such as fatigue, sleeplessness, vascular changes, and gastro-intestinal pathology.

*Exposure to Unknown Hazards:* Exposure to technical and infectious hazards increase with immigration. Europeans, for example, who are unfamiliar with local traffic problems or with climate, flora, and fauna, may get into difficulties because of their lack of familiarity with poison oak, poison ivy, poisonous snakes, hurricanes, floods, desert heat, and other hazards. Drinking or eating unsuitable food or fluids, or exposure to infectious diseases such as malaria or typhoid fever occur in conjunction with the change in living habits.

*The Meaning of Disease in Accultura-*

tion: Frustration and tension can bring about or complicate psychosomatic disease, or if the individual suffers from any incidentally contracted disease, recovery may be retarded because of frustration (29). Disease then becomes an escape mechanism, and we find many patients who have to be taken care of by hospitals or charitable organizations not so much because of the physical handicap as because of their inability to adapt psychologically to their physical handicap. Here disease can be used as a defense against acculturation, acceptable to both the patient and his surroundings.

In contrast, a foreigner, when hospitalized, may be thrown together with others who are native, and disease then becomes a means of speeding up acculturation. In the hospital surroundings the migrants are removed from their family environment, and are forced to communicate with the natives.

*Social Status and Illness:* There exists a significant difference in incidence of mental disease in the various social classes. According to Tietze, Lemkau, and Cooper (38), there exists a higher concentration of schizothymic personalities and schizophrenic reactions in the lower socio-economic groups, and more cyclothymic personalities and manic-depressive reaction types in the upper socio-economic levels. According to present concepts of mental functioning one would have to conclude from these findings that while the lower classes are concerned with conflicting systems of values and ethics, the upper classes are concerned more with the problems of ego-ideal and self-respect.

In changing from one social class to another the learning of the new ways of living imposes stress and strain, and exposes the individual to new health hazards. As soon as the migrant accepts

the American ideology of unlimited possibilities and strives to improve his social status, he will find external restrictions and internal difficulties which he cannot understand. Because of differences in personality structure, values, and habits, he will remain somewhat isolated in his new surroundings, which fact becomes the source of considerable frustration. The same is true when the migrant, because of skin color, name, religion, or certain occupations moves into a lower social class than he was accustomed to in the old country. Though he may actually increase his standard of living by moving to America, he may on the scale of prestige occupy a lower position than he was accustomed to. Again he will find himself isolated in his new surroundings.

*Geographical Mobility and Illness:* Spatial mobility seems to be related to mental health. There exists a definite inverse relationship between the prevalence of mental health problems and the duration of residence in the same house. Intra-city migrants have the highest rate of personality disorders (39). These mobile people seem to convene in certain areas of the cities—thus making for unusual concentration of certain personality types, mental disease, and suicide in subdivisions of Chicago, for example (10, 11). In these cases instability and change can be considered as a defense mechanism against unsolvable conflicts; however, change in itself is a source of stress and strain.

*Health Statistics:* Culture change produces stress and strain (14). If the individual in spite of his efforts remains unsuccessful, the result is physical, mental, or social pathology, and suicide. The statistical evidence substantiating this statement is considered in the next section.

*Foreign born whites compared to native borns of native parentage:*

- Higher rate: of married persons (40)
- “ “ of widowed persons (40)
- “ “ of admissions to mental hospitals for psychoses characterized by higher male than female rate (4, 20)
- “ “ of suicides (8)
- “ “ of mortality (5, 6, 7)
- “ “ of fertility (40)
- Lower rate: for delinquency and crime (12, 24, 35)
- “ “ of child abandonment (40, 41)
- Faster decrease in fertility (40)
- Faster decline of death rate (46)

*Native born whites of mixed or foreign parentage compared to native borns of native parentage:*

- Higher rate: of admissions to mental hospitals for psychosis but lower than that of foreign borns; men predominate over women (4, 20)
- “ “ of mortality (5, 6, 7)
- “ “ of juvenile delinquency and crime, constituting  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of all cases (40, 41, 42)
- Faster decline of death rate (46)

*Non-white population compared to native white population:*

- Higher mortality rate especially for tuberculosis, venereal disease and infant mortality (23, 24)
- Higher fertility rate (25, 40)
- Higher delinquency and crime rate (23)
- Higher mental disease rate in Massachusetts (4)
- Shorter life expectancy (24)
- Negro: smaller frequency of actual suicides (8, 19)
- Other non-white: high rate of suicide (2, 8)

Interpretation and analysis of these figures shows that foreign born persons tend to live within the family circle because of lack of outside contacts. They are usually married, have many children and are law-abiding citizens. However,

they are susceptible to physical and mental disease in part because of the stress and strain of culture change. The native borns of foreign or mixed parentage are exposed especially in their childhood to conflicting value-systems; the opinions of the parents clash with those of their surroundings, and the subsequent rebellion results in delinquency, crime, and susceptibility to physical and mental disease. The non-white man belongs to a caste; conflicting value-systems and poor economic conditions make for rebellion and crime, and the strain of being a member of a subjugated group as well as poor hygienic conditions are probably responsible for shorter life and greater mortality.

*Mortality and Acculturation:* The influence of acculturation upon the mortality rates can be studied by comparing the mortality rates of immigrants to the mortality rate prevailing in the country of origin. British, Irish and German people have a high mortality rate as such. In America, however, these people have a higher rate than in their old country, while Austro-Hungarians, Russians (principally Jews), and Italians have about the same or a lower mortality than in their own country (6). Though there exist differences in economic circumstances which might cause this differential mortality rate, one can also advance the concept that the North-Western European, primarily the Anglo-Saxon group, merely exaggerates the pre-existing trend of high mortality when put under stress and strain. Furthermore, English, Irish, and Germans tend to make the greatest effort to acculturate to the American core culture, because theoretically they can succeed in doing so within their lifetime. In comparison the Central, Eastern, and Southern European group are frequently so remote from the

American core culture that they never actually attempt to acculturate. Instead they prefer to settle in their own minority group, thus spreading acculturation over several decades and leaving some of the efforts to their more flexible children.

**Mortality and Nationality:** It is surprising that very few investigations have been made of mortality and morbidity of various cultural groups; in fact the only two detailed studies are based on data presented by Guilfooy (13) and Dublin (5, 6, 7) for 1910. From these studies we gather the following facts:

**Children:**

**Infant Mortality Rate:** Low in infants of parents of Russian, Polish, Austro-Hungarian (principally Jews), and Swedish birth. In contrast the rate is higher for infants of English, German, Irish, and Italian mothers.

**Congenital Disease:** Infants of American, Irish, and German parents have a mortality rate which is above the average.

**Children under Five Years of Age:** American, English, and Italian children have the highest death rate.

**Adults: All Age Groups:**

**Acute Respiratory Diseases (Bronchitis, Pneumonia):** Irish and American people have the highest rate, while Russians, Austro-Hungarians, and Germans are far below the average.

**Tuberculosis:** The native American and the Irish male have the highest rate; the other foreign groups have a lower mortality.

**Degenerative Diseases:** In American, Irish, and English people there is a higher mortality of such diseases as cerebral apoplexy, heart, kidney, and arteriosclerosis.

**Cancer:** There is not much difference in the various groups, though the

higher rates are found in German, Irish and English people.

**Alcoholism:** Native Americans, Irish, German, and English males have a much higher death rate than the average.

**Diabetes:** The mortality is high in German males and slightly above the average in English and Austro-Hungarian males.

**Accidents:** The highest rate is found in Irish people for both males and females.

The differences in mortality rate between the various national groups indicate on the one hand differences in constitutional resistance, and on the other hand are a manifestation of differences in exposure to noxious agents, occupational hazards, and stress and strain of acculturation. Since the above figures are not based upon autopsy reports but upon death certificates signed by the physician, one has to consider distortions based upon fashion trends prevalent among the physicians taking care of the various national groups. For example, the diagnosis of consumption in 1910 implied a certain social stigma, and therefore might have been avoided in higher status groups. Comparison of mortality rates of nationalities in America with corresponding figures of the country of origin is difficult or impossible because of difference in medical and autopsy practices and hospital facilities.

Interpretation of the mortality rates of infants may be understood better when considered in the light of differences of the parent-child relationship. In the North-West European group early frustrations are imposed upon the child. His value to the family is seen in his becoming an adult—considering childhood as such, an unavoidable nuisance. In contrast the Mediterranean and East

European groups make the child frequently the center of the family, thus imposing lesser frustration and providing constant attention. Their childhood in itself is a recognized and important phase of development.

In interpreting the mortality rates for adults it must be remembered that the sample was drawn from an urban population. Therefore one can assume that migrants who formerly were exposed to urban environments may have been better equipped to survive than those who migrated from rural sections into the city. This is probably true of the Jewish population who for centuries lived in crowded Ghettos, while in contrast the Irish population, which, derived from primarily rural sections, was suddenly exposed to entirely new health hazards for which they might not have been constitutionally or socially prepared. Personality traits and living habits have been responsible, for example, for the high accident rate among Irish people, which undoubtedly is related to their tendency towards free expression of aggression as well as their occupation as construction workers, policemen, firemen, and the like. Free expression of aggression is usually curtailed in an urban environment.

Further studies are needed to illuminate the relationship between morbidity and mortality on the one hand, and living habits, diet, and other cultural and constitutional differences in the American ethnic population. A recent survey in California (2) hinted at interesting differences: for example, there was found a low rate for circulatory diseases in Japanese; a susceptibility to tuberculosis and suicide in the Chinese, and a susceptibility of Indians to diseases of the digestive tract, pneumonia, influenza, and tuberculosis.

*Suicide:* According to Dublin and Bunzel (8) all foreign borns had higher suicide rates (1906 to 1914) than native borns, the German and French being in the lead. Comparing the rates for New York with the corresponding rates of countries of origin one finds that the French, English, German, and Irish people have here a higher suicide rate. This is an expression of the stress and strain of acculturation resulting in depression, loss of self-respect, and suicide. Cultural sanctions for suicide differ; therefore there is a low rate in Negroes, active Catholics, and Jews; a higher rate in Protestants; and the highest rate in Orientals.

*Mental Disease:* The difficulties encountered in the process of acculturation (18) are largely reflected in statistics of mental disease (4, 20). The foreign borns tend to have psychoses which express the conflict with the environment and which are connected with abnormal physical conditions and age. The six most frequent mental diseases in foreign borns are: paranoia, alcoholism, traumatic, senile, symptomatic, and arteriosclerotic psychoses. Paranoia is obviously the result of the projection of own desires and activities upon the outside world, while alcoholism reflects the escape mechanism used in the management of stress and strain. Traumatic psychoses are usually associated with chronic alcoholism and are in part the result of the emotional problems leading up to the accident and persisting in the ensuing post-traumatic syndromes (22, 28). Foreign borns do not tend to have the temporary forms of mental disorder with short hospital residence, but if they are sick they appear to suffer from more severe psychoses (4).

Among the foreign borns there appears a noteworthy difference between naturalized and non-naturalized persons.

The naturalized foreigners have fewer and less severe psychoses than non-naturalized persons. Foreigners who become citizens have psychoses which are either related to their poor physical condition or which conflict with the environment. Among the six most frequent diseases are drug, involutional, brain tumor, arteriosclerotic, pellagra, and senile psychoses. The aliens on the contrary show severer types of psychoses which include: mental deficiency, dementia praecox, undiagnosed alcoholic, epileptic psychoses, and psychopathic personality.

Dementia praecox, manic depressive psychoses, psychoneuroses, and psychopathic personality are conditions which are related to problems of right and wrong, good and evil, and which in part are the result of conflicting internalized values; therefore, it is not surprising to find that the native borns have among the six most frequent psychoses: dementia praecox, psychoneuroses, and manic depressive psychoses, while natives of mixed parentage have among the first six: psychopathic personality, dementia praecox, and psychoneuroses. In the native groups of native parentage the manic depressive psychoses and dementia praecox disappear in the list of the six most frequent mental diseases.

The Negro shows somewhat the same tendency. Again we find the repercus-

sions of a conflict with the environment, inasmuch as paranoia and alcoholic psychoses are found among the first six mental diseases. Dementia praecox, cerebral syphilis, general paresis, and mental deficiency are the other four.

In successive generations the various nativity and nationality groups tend to conform more and more to the trend of the general population. Klopfer (16) therefore believes that the whole life situation of foreign borns is responsible for differential rates in various nationality groups; the assimilative powers of the United States environment subsequently level these differences.

In summarizing these findings one can state that with increasing acculturation paranoia, alcoholic, and traumatic psychoses diminish. Psychoses reflecting conflict of internalized values do not appear frequently in foreign borns; however, they are highest in frequency in native borns of foreign or mixed parentage, and decrease in frequency in natives of native parentage.

*Summary:* The effects of culture changes upon physical and mental health, as well as upon personality structure are a foremost American problem. Evaluation of stress and strain occurring during acculturation, therefore, becomes an important task for health officers, psychiatrists, and social scientists.

### CHAPTER III

#### ASSESSMENT OF CULTURE CHANGE

AFTER having established the importance of culture change as a source of stress and strain, a method had to be devised to assess the difficulties encountered by individuals in order to make them amenable to therapy. A rating scale, as well as analysis of the personality structure and the social environment, were used for this purpose. The frame of reference of the rating scale was based upon the concept of culture distance from the American core culture.

*The American Core Culture:* In spite of regional variations and differences related to caste and class, there exist general attitudes and orientations which are shared by the majority of Americans, and which we have called "The American Core Culture." Today 79 per cent of the American people claim middle class identity, and 70 per cent of the people of low income groups claim middle class position (36). These figures clearly indicate that members of different social classes, ethnic and religious groups, try to acculturate to middle class standards as much as possible, in spite of the fact that not more than 40 per cent of the American population actually belongs to the middle class (43).

Americans speak the English language in spite of the fact that between 1850 and 1940 only about 30 per cent of the immigrants derived from English speaking countries, and about only 60 per cent of the U. S. population can be estimated to derive from North-West European countries including Germany. Anglo-Saxon tradition and Puritanism developed into a national culture because these features were introduced by the first settlers. These English speaking,

middle class, Protestant people set the standards for the new country and exerted pressure upon all new-comers to conform to these established cultural patterns. Public opinion is largely an expression of this core culture. We find it in the constitution and its amendments, in novels, newspapers, in political speeches, and it is expressed best by the opinion of the man on the street (17, 24, 36, 43, 44). Listed on page 11 are a number of items illustrating the value system of the core culture, as well as of its negated counter parts.

*Culture Distance:* Immigrants and children of immigrants show differences in speed and degree of adaptation. These are on the one hand the result of personality factors and environmental conditions, and on the other hand are a function of the similarities between the two cultures in question. If we call the native culture of the immigrant the culture of orientation and consider the American core culture as the ultimate goal, we see that the migrant has to undergo changes the extent of which are related to the original distance of the two cultures. Culture distance can be measured by the number of similar and dissimilar features present in the two cultures. If a migrant should in all his character traits, attitudes, beliefs, customs, and habits be similar to Americans he would have a culture identical to that of the American. If all his features were to be different he would obviously derive from a culture extremely remote and different from that of the Americans. In order to assess these similarities and differences, an attempt was made to classify individual adjustment

*Preferred Values*

Equality by birth  
 Inequality of achievement  
 Everybody can do and learn everything  
 Success before security  
 Success in terms of money and status  
 Success more important than method used to achieve it  
 Pursuit of power and prestige sanctioned  
 Individual freedom in acquisition of wealth and power  
 Wish to be independent, not work for others  
 Effort and optimism  
 Conformance to majority opinion, rather than persistence in personal opinion  
 Freedom of speech  
 Tendency to join formal associations

Need for sex gratification not acknowledged  
 Frankness in matters of crime  
 Emotional control  
 Cleanliness and good manners  
 Romantic belief in great love  
 Romantic belief in success (luck, gambling)  
 Gratification in terms of accumulation and production  
 Moral and ethical goals, good citizenship  
 Waste  
 Externalization of conflicts and blame of the environment  
 Relaxation as health measure  
 Rational, scientific approach  
 Standardization and mass production  
 Size and practicability  
 Machines and gadgets  
 Change  
 Belief in future and opportunity  
 Belief in education and health measures  
 Children first, parents second  
 Women first, men second

*Non-Preferred or Rejected Values*

Inequality by birth  
 Equality of achievement  
 Everybody is limited in what he can do  
 Security before success  
 Failure in terms of money and status  
 Skill, integrity, and method used for achievement more important than success itself  
 Pursuit of perfection sanctioned  
 Individual freedom in development of personality  
 Work for a cause or institution  
 Laziness and fatalism  
 Adherence to personal, expert, or leader's opinion.  
 Restrictions of free verbal expression  
 Informal organizations and selection of individual friends  
 Sex matters publicly acknowledged  
 Crime and murder not talked about  
 Expression of emotions  
 Neglectfulness and poor manners  
 Love as art and based on experience  
 Success due to skill  
 Gratification in terms of sensory stimulation

Experience and living as goal  
 Preservation  
 Internalization of conflicts and blame on fate or self  
 Relaxation as such is idleness  
 Irrational, intuitive, or artistic approach  
 Uniqueness of individual product  
 Quality and beauty  
 Ideas and movements  
 Stability  
 Belief in present  
 Life as school of education  
 Parents first, children second  
 Men first, women second

patterns in terms of their remoteness from the American core culture. The method devised for this purpose is described in the next section.

*Rating Scale of Acculturation:* A variety of adjustment patterns which can be observed in a one hour interview were classified on a 4-step scale making use of the concept of culture distance outlined above. Behavior patterns thus were all classified in terms of their similarity or difference with the American core culture, representing lower middle class people of Anglo-Saxon descent and Prot-

estant religion. The classification was arrived at by making use of sociological and cultural studies (1, 3, 9, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 27, 32, 36, 37, 40, 43, 44, 45), remarks of American people about their opinions of foreigners, and personal observations of the authors. The material was gathered by interviewing 75 female persons without particular selection of occupation, social class, age, or psychopathology. The case material was made up of social workers, student nurses, physicians, college students, employees, and patients with minor adjustment dif-

faculties. The selection was based on nothing else but accessibility of examinees, willingness to cooperate, and nativity. Each person was interviewed by using the type of questions outlined in the Appendix. The information received was classified by the examiner, for each of the 24 items observed, into one of the four categories. Effort was made to obtain spontaneous descriptions by having

resents the mean of three items—nativity, culture of origin, and attitudes towards parents and family structure. This score furnishes an index of the patient's status at the time of his birth. The score for "present status" is obtained by computing the mean of the remaining 21 items. The difference between these two scores gives us a measure of the "extent of the culture change." Change is usually

TABLE 1

Variable	Native Born of Native Parentage (N=25)	Native Born of Mixed or Foreign Parentage (N=25)	Foreign Born (N=25)
Age:			
Mean Age	25.8	28.24	41.6
Lowest Age	18	19	24
Highest Age	45	39	64
Time:			
Years in U.S.A.	25.8	28.2	18.9
Cultural Background:			
Score for Orientation	1.28	2.10	2.50
Adaptation:			
Score for Present Status	1.23	1.44	1.72
Extent of Culture Change:			
Difference between Scores	0.05	0.66	0.78
Rate of Acculturation (per year):			
Difference Divided by Years in U.S.A.	0.002	0.023	0.041

the patient describe his environment, his attitudes, and his beliefs, rather than to use pointed questions. Each case was interviewed for approximately one hour, whereupon the case material was discussed in a conference of the three authors. Selected patients were studied as long as 30 to 40 hours in psychotherapy for further exploration of the dynamics of culture change. The results of these detailed examinations are reported in later chapters.

*Measures of Culture Change:* A number of results proved indicative of the type of the cultural mobility of individuals. The "score for orientation" rep-

resents the mean of three items—nativity, culture of origin, and attitudes towards parents and family structure. This score furnishes an index of the patient's status at the time of his birth. The score for "present status" is obtained by computing the mean of the remaining 21 items. The difference between these two scores gives us a measure of the "extent of the culture change." Change is usually

in the direction of the core culture, but in native borns it may be away from the core culture (for example in Americans who live abroad). The duration of acculturation coincides in native borns with their age; in foreign borns with their stay in the United States. The "speed of acculturation" is the difference divided by the number of years spent in the United States.

The mean scores for these various measures have been reproduced in Table 1. Figure 2 gives a scatter diagram of these various measures. The native born individuals of native parentage show relatively small culture change, and if

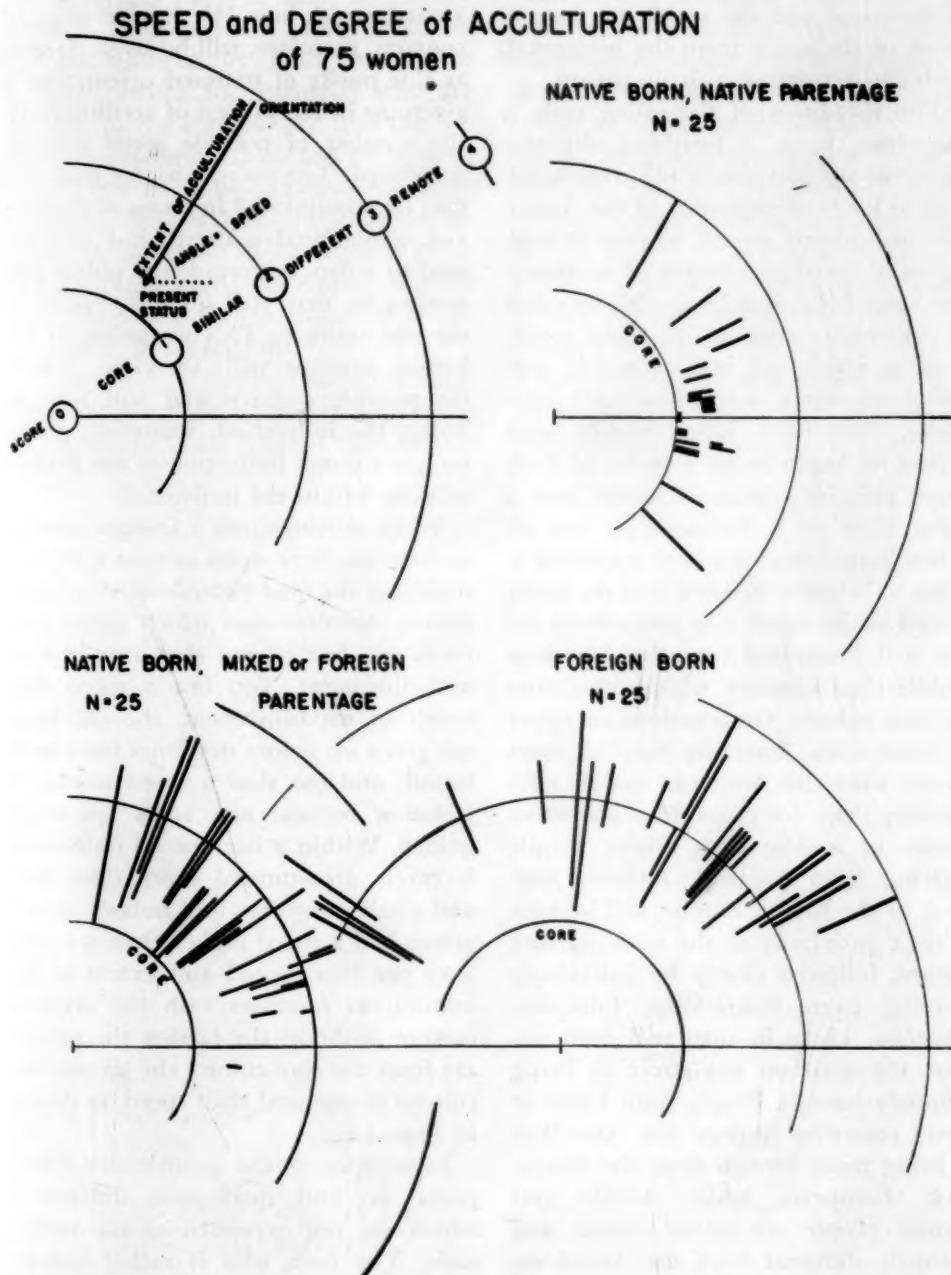


FIGURE 2

such occurs it is slow. The extent of the culture change is plotted by the length of each line and the speed per year in terms of the angle from the horizontal. Each line represents a single person.

The usefulness of the rating scale is three-fold. First, it furnishes objective rating of an individual's adjustment pattern in terms of similarity to the American core culture; second, it gives an indication of speed and degree of acculturation; and third, it helps in the detection of personality areas which resist acculturation, which fact is expressed in scattering of scores through several categories. The ideal lower middle class person of Anglo-Saxon descent, of Protestant religion, obviously would have a mean score of 1. In our data not all native born Americans have a score of 1. It has to be borne in mind that the lower as well as the upper class individuals are less well integrated into the American middle class ideology which constitutes the core culture. On occasions an upper or lower class American may be more remote from this American middle class ideology than, for example, a Canadian person of middle class origin. People deriving from England, Ireland, Scotland, or the British Empire will be next in their proximity to the national core culture, followed closely by individuals deriving from North-West European countries. These in turn will even impress the man on the street as being definitely foreign. People from Latin or Slavic countries impress the American as being more foreign than the North-West European, while Asiatic and African people are rather remote and distinctly different from the American.

Scattering of scores through several categories constitutes proof of adjustment difficulties. As long as an individual belongs to a national group he

will find a large number of people who will share similar opinions, beliefs, and attitudes with him. His number of social contacts, therefore, will be large. As soon as this purity of national orientation is given up in the process of acculturation, the number of possible social contacts is reduced. The individual, for example, may be acculturated in terms of clothing and educational patterns, but with regard to attitudes towards the public and women he may still hold the views of the old country. This scattering of behavior patterns will, therefore, reduce his possible contacts and will tend to isolate the individual. Scattering, therefore, is a rough indication of the tension existing within the individual.

When moving from a foreign country to America there seems to exist a healthy middle-of-the-road procedure of acculturation. Acculturation which either proceeds too fast or too slow can lead to maladjustment. Too fast a speed may result in maladjustment, the old roots are given up before new ones have been found; and too slow a speed results in isolation because new roots are never gained. Within a lifetime an individual is rarely acculturated more than one-and-a-half categories, and nobody in our group had a speed higher than 0.1 category per year. Speed and extent of acculturation increases with the original culture distance; the farther the people are from the core culture the greater the culture change and their speed, as shown in Figure 1.

In addition to the quantitative differences we find qualitative differences which are not expressed in the rating scale. The man who is rather remote from the American core culture is busy with learning simple techniques, external symbols, and techniques of mastery. The difficulties encountered are

conscious and he is aware of them. The rating scale is likely to show up his difficulties. In turn, more subtle problems are encountered by Irish, Scotch, or English people, for example, who are so close to the core culture that the differences encountered do not enter their field of awareness. Being unaware of these problems, little is done to change the adjustment patterns. In subsequent chapters a more detailed description is given of these subtle factors involved in the process of acculturation.

*Summary:* A rating score of acculturation has been described which was based upon the concept of culture

distance from the American core culture.

Behavior patterns of individuals are rated in terms of their similarity to or difference from the American core culture. The measures of culture-change consist of score for orientation, present status, extent of acculturation, speed of acculturation, and scattering of scores through various categories. These formal ratings enable the examiner to assess cultural mobility in group studies, and to spot the maladjusted individual. The ratings then have to be supplemented by a more subtle and individualized investigation of difficulties encountered in individual cases.

## CHAPTER IV

### INSTITUTIONS OF ACCULTURATION

THE prime function of many of our social institutions is the acculturation of children and adults into the American core culture. Home, family, school, playground, church, occupation, and associations offer situations suitable for learning the prescribed ways of living. For the migrant these institutions have a double meaning. First, as a means of learning the American setting and second, as a means of maintaining the ethnic culture. While these institutions are used by one individual with great success in acculturation, the same institutions may for the next person constitute serious obstacles to adaptation.

*Home and Family:* The family structure is modified considerably in the course of acculturation. The lower class ethnic family is usually large and has from 3.3 to 4.9 children (3). The family members are interdependent, and differences of status between father or mother or other members can be pronounced. In the extended family, aunts, uncles, and grand-parents tend to look out for each other. Life actually revolves within the family. In contrast the American middle-class family which is propagated as an ideal has an average 2.2 children and is extremely self reliant. The American middle-class family instills in the child the necessity of conforming, of getting ahead, and of maintaining independence (3). In contrast the lower class ethnic family, faced with immense barriers in achieving middle class status, is more interested in immediate gratification. The core culture on the contrary is characterized by control and in some instances by avoidance of immediate gratification. The ethnic family structure hence interferes with accultu-

ration by developing different goals and standards. However, as the foreign family finds itself economically able to conform, it is more likely to undergo a gradual change. When it becomes self reliant in the middle-class sense, it means not only that the family can look after itself, but it does not have relatives to care for any more. When this is achieved a favorable learning situation for acculturation has been created for the next generation. The ethnic family in America, therefore, provides on the one hand security through its close ties with other family members, but by doing so it creates at the same time a conflict in values and standards which retards acculturation.

*Schools and Playgrounds:* The American school system provides the possibilities of learning middle-class culture (45). It is an institution run by, staffed with, and designed for, those who are motivated to become acculturated to the core culture. In contrast the so-called language schools maintained by certain ethnic groups tend to prolong the non-American culture begun in the family group. The immediate difficulties of children deriving from an ethnic family are their inability to comprehend the types of goals advanced in the American schools. This lack of understanding makes the child a poor student, who then is usually punished for this failure by the school authority. Such treatment, of course, interferes with rapid acculturation. Sometimes the so-called language schools perform an interesting function. Those groups which care to maintain schools of their own prepare the child ideologically to accept schooling as something desirable. Inasmuch as educational

achievements are important factors for success in business, these children are later able to compete with the natives. With regard to this feature, therefore, the language school acculturates to the American culture.

In school all children with an ethnic background have to face a number of adjustment problems, which can be summarized as follows: the school as an institution of punishment and discrimination; the school as an incomprehensible situation; the school as a conflict situation with reference to items learned at home or in the ethnic language school; the school as an opportunity which provides goals and techniques which are otherwise unobtainable because of the ethnic background. All of these factors produce stress and strain unknown to the American of native parentage.

Hand in hand with school training go playground activities, which largely determine the success or failure of the youngster's socialization in the organization of his contemporaries. It constitutes the first experience of social organization outside the family. Age divisions, participation or separation of the sexes, problems of prestige and status based upon physical skill stimulate the adaptive behavior of a child in a group. Discriminations are absent at first, and hence the playground is one of the foremost institutions of acculturation. As the child grows older, discriminations begin to be noticed. The youngster then starts to organize in gangs composed of other ethnics, and the frustrations encountered in acculturation are frequently displaced and acted out in fights and warfare with other gangs.

*Church:* In the more integrated cultures of Europe and Asia the church expresses officially the moral code and the sacred history of the people in terms of

family organization. Protestantism and the church organization in America represent likewise the opinion and ideals of a high proportion of middle-class people. The core culture, therefore, has a definitely religious, i.e., puritanical component, and the church, therefore, assumes the role of a foremost institution of acculturation. However, the ethnic groups tend to have their own churches which sanctify ethnic behavior and traditions, interfering with acculturation by giving sacred support to the non-American cultural adjustment. The use of an American church as an instrument of acculturation occurs usually rather late, when the process of acculturation is well under way. If an ethnic or the child of an ethnic chooses the right church and the latter accepts the applicant, an unusual opportunity of contact with the core culture is given.

*Occupation:* Occupation is in part a function of class membership. In the past the immigrants were usually lower class people, and the so-called white collar occupations were core culture jobs. A person of ethnic background tended to have few skills and therefore had fewer opportunities for the white collar occupations. As the rate of immigration has been progressively reduced this tendency have been reversed, and the ethnics now are people with skills and professions who in turn are able to occupy white collar positions. The job can be conceived as a social institution which provides the adult with a certain kind of social participation; the more middle-class the occupation, the better the chance of acculturation. When a person works in a group composed of people of his own culture, or if the working situation is unpleasant because of discrimination and lack of sociability, the speed of acculturation will be greatly

retarded. In contrast, working with a mixed or purely American group greatly increases the speed of adaptation.

*Associations:* America has been characterized as a social system of voluntary associations, and no other culture can boast of so many different kinds of formal organizations. These associations have the dual function to select desirable persons for incorporation and to keep out undesirable ones. In order to become a member of an organization one must know how to behave in such an association. The ethnic groups at first tend to develop their own organizations. As the migrant participates more broadly in these ethnic associations he learns the

"know how" of associational life and can advance gradually to a more American type of association, and in this way increases the speed of acculturation.

*Summary:* Difficulties in acculturation may in part be due to:

1. Lack of contact with American cultural institutions.
2. Ethnic institutions providing different teachings and greater security than the American ones.
3. Discrimination by or in American institutions against ethnics.
4. Rebellion against any kind of institution and culture because of contradictory values.

## CHAPTER V

### "SOCIAL CLIMATE" OF ACCULTURATION

**S**PEED and degree of acculturation are dependent among other factors, upon the natives' attitudes towards the migrant and immigration in general. From the extremes of warfare and annihilation to total acceptance with open arms there exists a sliding scale which one might call the social climate of acculturation.

*Attitudes of Natives:* The natives' reaction to immigration is dependent upon several factors. The first consideration is the composition and size of the migrant group, and whether it is made up of individuals, families, or larger bodies of people. Another item is concerned with the degree to which the new region has already been developed and settled. A further consideration is related to the motivation of the migrant for leaving his own country: whether he was imported involuntarily; was forced to leave the old country; or came on a purely voluntary basis. Additionally, factors of culture distance, race, and religion will determine the reaction of the native. All these factors combined largely determine the emotional attitude engendered in the natives by the migrant. The old settlers may either feel threatened, or on the contrary may become more secure by the addition of new-comers (37).

America lends itself to immigration, being a relatively undeveloped region with regard to geographical space and size of population. Fight against the Indians and the need for producers and consumers forced both importation and voluntary immigration until quite recently. However, care was taken to avoid indiscriminate immigration by admitting a wide variety of groups, so that none could threaten the existing social order. In America as a whole, therefore,

the social climate for acculturation is favorable.

#### *Techniques of Handling Immigrants:*

The individual American as well as the culture as a whole developed definite techniques of handling the immigrant. Degree of acceptance of foreigners is, in America, partly a function of the original culture distance. The nearer the immigrant is to the American core culture, the greater is the receptivity of the native. This implies that the migrant should be of the light-complexioned Caucasian type and of Protestant faith. Differences in body build and religion (44) retard or postpone acculturation indefinitely. Reactions against people of different culture, race and religion, have become patterned into forms of segregation and attitudes of discrimination which are actually methods of keeping the foreigners distinct (26). They, so to speak, are put on a waiting list, and only after a training lasting decades and generations are they gradually admitted to the core culture, after it has been made sure that few of their original characteristics have been retained. The foreign borns of that group are subject to discrimination and punishment by deprivation of rights, privileges, or opportunities.

Migrants moving into new surroundings have fundamentally three choices: they may live as foreigners who participate within the native group; they may live as foreigners with fellow foreigners in an ethnic community; or they may exist as social isolates with very little if any social participation. From a long term standpoint the individual joining the local native group has the best chance of adjustment. The one who

enters the ethnic group postpones acculturation considerably and leaves the principal effort to his children (27). Which of the three methods or combination of methods is chosen depends upon attitudes of the migrant family structure, and especially local opportunity. According to the migrant's status and suitability in the eyes of the natives, he is either accepted into a corresponding group or promoted or demoted in status. In other words the migrant is assigned a new social status upon entering the new country. The evaluation of his personal prestige in the new country is based upon entirely different criteria than the ones used to determine status in the old country. The factors determining the new status are related to factors of race and religion, and to factors of education, skill, and wealth. Those of different races are assigned to a lower class and caste position, and hence are unable to participate equally in the social life of the United States (43, 44). Those of distant cultures are put into lower class status, and social mobility upwards is made difficult by depriving them of equal opportunity for jobs, living space, education, and the like. Those of different religions are sometimes scorned, spurned, and used as scapegoats responsible for social ills. The ones which are destined to be either accepted or promoted in their social status are not isolated, are accepted in native associations, and are given equal opportunities for advancement in terms of enhancement of wealth.

*Rural-Urban Environment:* Though the majority of the American immigrant groups are recruited from the rural groups of Europe and Asia (1), they have to make their first adjustment frequently in urban American surroundings. This situation requires a double adaptation; first to the American culture, and second to the urban environment.

Migrants are forced to the cities for several reasons. First, they have the opportunity to isolate themselves and to maintain ethnic cultures; second, there was more employment opportunity in industrial and urban environments; and third, moving out into the country meant usually pioneering, which requires a certain minimum amount of property in order to buy the necessary equipment which the migrant did not possess. Those groups who managed to settle in rural sections of the country escaped the strain of city living (34), but on the other hand they had a disadvantage inasmuch as frequently the rural adjustment was done in large groups carrying out a way of life similar to that of the old country, thus actually retarding the acculturation for several generations; e.g., Pennsylvania Dutch, and Swedes in Wisconsin and Minnesota (1).

*Regional and Climatic Differences:* Though it is difficult to assess these factors in terms of speed and degree of acculturation, several authors (9, 15) hold that terrain and climate are related to the basic personality. Techniques of mastery, temperamental adaptation, and agricultural practices, as well as interpersonal relations, are obviously in part a function of climate and geographic configuration. Being able to carry out and to continue similar occupations in a similar environment eases the strain of adaptation because it enables the individual to live the same type of life. This fact in itself, however, retards acculturation to the core culture because it tends to promote settlement in ethnic colonies.

*Summary:* The "social climate" surrounding the immigrant will in part determine whether he will settle among natives or live in ethnic groups. The attitude of the natives in part regulates, therefore, the speed and degree of acculturation.

## CHAPTER VI

### PERSONALITY IN ACCULTURATION

REGARDLESS of the distance of the cultures involved in the change, and in spite of the environmental situations and institutional facilities found in a new culture, success and failure of acculturation will depend in considerable measure upon the personality of the migrant.

*Intelligence, Education, and Occupation:* Immigration policy of the United States has undergone continued change (24). Unlimited and unselective immigration was gradually altered by selective procedures: first, the head tax and exclusion of anti-social, physically, or mentally sick people (1882); then the literacy test (1917); last the quota laws (1921, 1924, and 1929). These restrictions brought about a shift in educational and occupational composition of the immigrant population. Comparing the figures for the 1926 to 1929 period with those of 1911 to 1914, we find that the professional element rises from 1.7 percent to 5.9 percent of the total, and the skilled worker from 20.0 percent to 30.0 percent. At the same time we find a drop in the mortality rate and the deportation rate, but a stable mental disease rate. In view of the rise of the mental disease rate for the native born population, the conclusion is warranted that the more intelligent and better educated immigrants show statistically fewer signs of disabling physical and mental strain than the less capable and less educated ones.

*Motivation for Emigration:* The migrant is either dissatisfied with his home conditions and blames economic, social, religious, or racial reasons, or he is dissatisfied because of intangible internal difficulties. A solution of these external or internal difficulties is then attempted by migration. People who seek migration

as a solution of their conflicts believe that all frustrations endured will be compensated for in the country of adoption. Such an ideology develops in early childhood and matures during adolescence, and was responsible to a large extent for European and American mass migrations of the past. The migrant brings with him a number of unsolved conflicts which may or may not persist in the new environment. While on the one hand he may be a better individual than the native because he brings with him the will and the urge to make good, the external or internal conflicts endured in the past may, on the other hand, have made him an odd personality with difficulties in adaptive behavior.

*Prestige of Migration:* The fact of migration implies that the migrant was dissatisfied with his old setting and that he had heard of other possibilities. In the old country the migrant forms a definite opinion about the new country in relation to his native civilization. He may look up to the new culture as something desirable and of greater value than his own, or he may look down upon it. His ability to tolerate frustration will depend upon the prestige which the new culture carries in his eyes. Belonging to those who migrated may carry a different degree of prestige in the eyes of his old compatriots; migration to America, for example, carries more prestige in Southern Italy than in England. Deciding to migrate, therefore, changes the prestige of the individual as well as his self respect.

*Explicitness and Complexity of New Culture:* The learning of new responses is not only a function of age but also of the structure of the culture into which

the migrant moves. The older and the better established the culture the easier it is to take over the cues necessary to reinforce and organize responses. The New England culture, for example, is comparatively unequivocal, and the learning of the new value-system is easy because of clearly defined reward and punishment values. In comparing this relatively old culture with the situation of the Western States one finds that acculturation there is somehow more difficult. The West has not developed a regional culture of its own, though it is definitely in the stage of formation; therefore, reward and punishment values are equivocal, and the Anglo-Saxon middle-class culture is in a state of competition and amalgamation with certain Latin traits of Spanish, Mexican, and French origin. Whenever the migrant is confronted with equivocal culture values he becomes somewhat confused. The result is usually refusal to accept the new values, and renewed adherence to the old civilization.

*Age and Learning in Acculturation:* Two-thirds of the foreign born population is over forty-five. Acculturation has, therefore, to be considered in connection with age, because age determines to a large extent the method of learning used by a person. The younger learns by two fundamentally different methods: imitation or copying, and trial and error. Social learning can be conceived as being composed of four essential factors: drive, response, cue, and reward (21). The four factors seem to be inter-related as follows: the drive impels a person to respond; the response as such is action. Cues determine when and where an individual will respond and which response he will make. Whether a response is going to be repeated depends on whether or not it is going to be rewarded. In

learning by trial and error the reward is implied in the gratification of the instinct and in the mastery of the situation. In imitation and copying the reward comes usually from outside sources in terms of affection, recognition, and praise (21, 31, 32).

When a youngster moves from one country to another he has both methods of learning at his disposal, but relying upon imitation and copying produces results in shorter periods of time. Other children, teachers, and adults can be taken as models. In childhood culture-change coincides with a period of intensive learning; the fundamental approach to life, therefore, does not change. Quite different is the situation for the adult. With progressive age the emphasis on learning recedes to make place to another approach, which is characterized by wealth of associations and generalizations from past experiences. If a person lives permanently within the same culture, fundamentally new situations seldom arise in adult life; generalizations derived from previous experiences will suffice to manage most situations. In culture change, however, generalizations from previous experiences do not lead to the desired results, because of change in the system of values, symbols, and techniques of mastery. Being forced to reinstitute large scale learning, the migrant sometimes regresses to a lower level of activity, development, and gratification. He becomes once again dependent upon others, either in terms of services which he cannot perform or in terms of relying upon models to be imitated. Thus the migrant returns to an approach abandoned previously in the process of maturation. Such regression is dangerous because it involves the whole personality and is combined with loss of self respect,

which in turn may lead to a number of defense and escape mechanisms. Furthermore, the adult does not receive any immediate reward for imitation of native behavior, but instead he has to rely upon long-term rewards. The youngster, on the contrary, is usually rewarded by teachers and other children for imitating or copying, which in turn speeds up the process of acculturation. An exception among the adults is found in the migrant who marries a native partner; it is striking to see how in mixed marriages the foreign born partner acculturates much faster than other fellow migrants who are not mated with natives. Constant exposure to a model, and reward in terms of affection, apparently accelerates the acculturation process.

The meanings of symbols changes with age. A person who in his later life migrates into a new culture may not come in contact with certain symbols which were used previously by infants or adolescents. For example, adult Europeans experience difficulty in understanding the "bobby-soxer" and the high-school culture of Americans, unless they went to a native high school themselves. The learning of symbols therefore is related to "living experiences," and advanced age may expose the migrant to only a selected assortment of experiences.

*Reorientation of Values:* The individual experiences several degrees of difficulty in the process of acculturation, which are related to the reorientation of internalized reward and punishment values. In the course of education parents and teachers inculcate in youngsters the system of values which exists in their respective culture. Good behavior is rewarded; bad behavior is punished. The cues reinforcing the responses which characterize good be-

havior are gradually associated with internalized reward values; bad behavior, with punishment values. Through this process the youngster gradually learns that good behavior is satisfactory and bad behavior frustrating, the latter being the source of feelings of shame, guilt, anxiety, or fear.

Acculturation is easy if learning involves entirely new external symbols with no corresponding internalized values. For example, a migrant from a rural part of eastern Europe may never have encountered electricity. If he is at an age where learning is feasible he will learn the technical mastery of electricity as well as the American.

Next in difficulty is the substitution of external symbols or cues while the internalized values remain unchanged. As an example one may cite the same attitude towards sports in Western and Northern Europe and America. Merely the external techniques of mastery have to be relearned while the individual in his general orientation remains unchanged. No particular conflict will develop, if age and motor skills permit the acquisition of new techniques.

Third in difficulty is the switch of internalized values while the corresponding external symbols remain the same. Here we deal with a total change in the meaning of cues. For example, if understatement was rewarded in the New England culture and bragging and overstatement in the West and Southwest, the individual may feel guilty when complying with the new attitudes. It may take him a longer time to master bragging, and if he does succeed at all it may even take a longer time to learn to do it without feelings of shame or guilt. Here the individual has to relearn or rearrange his internalized reward and

punishment values, which process renders acculturation more difficult. If reward and punishment values are diametrically opposed, acculturation is eventually impossible.

The most difficult thing to learn is the general orientation of a culture. It is made up of innumerable small experiences which men abstracted and summarized result in a general orientation. To cite an example, one may mention a number of European cultures characterized by explicitness in the system of values, where the permissible and the non-permissible things are clearly stated. In America one knows many things implicitly, but nobody takes the trouble to be explicit. It will take the migrant a long time to discover this difference, and on many occasions he may have been waiting for some explicit statement where the native American looked for the implication. The more integrated and complete a personality is, the more reliance is put upon these generalized orientations. For a complicated personality, therefore, moving into a new culture means functioning at a lower level of integration, being able to carry out partial or mechanical functions only, without understanding completely the meaning of the new value system. This deficiency obviously results in a great deal of frustration.

*Individual Methods of Acculturation:* One attitude towards acculturation is characterized by the idea that everything the new country offers is better than what the old country had to give. Persons with such an attitude believe that total and wholesale acculturation is possible. Though useful at first because of immediate and quick success, this attitude does not acknowledge the fact that the old system of values cannot be abandoned overnight without extensive re-

pression almost to the degree of amnesia. With such an attitude the new values are accepted on the surface only, while the old values continue to exist though the individual may not be aware of it. A conflict between repressing old values and accepting new values will result, which may break into the open at such instances when the individual is unable to repress successfully either by reason of stress or strain or through incidental reactivation.

A second basic attitude is found in the individual who accepts all external symbols, and adapts in terms of clothing, manners, and speech, but maintains unconsciously the old system of values. This type of person believes that acculturation is a matter of habits and physical appearance, failing to recognize the importance of values. Characteristic of this attitude are persons residing in the English-speaking world who go to London, Oxford, or Cambridge, and upon their return are more British than even the Englishmen. These external efforts seem to be compensating mechanisms to offset internal doubts concerning the degree of acculturation, as well as feelings of inferiority.

There exists a third type, who represent somewhat the opposite tendency. Few concessions are made to the new culture except in matters of daily necessities; language, habits, external appearance, and the values of the old culture are retained. The person does not mind to be labeled a foreigner. Knowing the limitations of acculturation, no attempt at competing with the natives is made. A characteristic example of his type is found in the orthodox Jew, who has learned to manage the frustrations entailed in being a member of a minority group by compensating his external insecurity through better relations to mem-

bers of the family and his own group. Such people have a certain measure of security because they have no ambivalence about their system of values, which is in turn the result of successful identification with the parents in early childhood.

The fourth type is represented in those marginal people who never belonged to any one group—neither in the old country nor in the new place of residence. Internationalized and somewhat restless, they live on the fringes of culture, more interested in securing their immediate needs and less concerned with any system of values. These people do not attempt to acculturate but they gravitate towards those environments which offer them the same type of life they led before. It usually circles around hotels, restaurants, night-clubs, or amusement centers, and embraces people employed in the entertainment industry and the artistic world.

There is a fifth type who actually do not adapt to the national culture but who adjust to a local group. The more this group culture coincides with the national culture, i.e., the more it is lower middle-class Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, the better acculturated the migrant will be. He then can move to any place in the United States and he will always find a group which will accept him. If, however, his group culture differs from the national core culture, the migrant becomes dependent upon his group. He may feel successful because of his apparent acculturation to the new country, but he cannot leave the group. Such is the case with many of our foreign-borns who live in national colonies for many generations, as for instance the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the French in Louisiana, and the Swedes in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

In summarizing the essential difference between these four types one arrives at the following characteristic features:

*Type 1.* Wholesale acculturation; belief in total exchange of external and internal symbols.

*Type 2.* External acculturation; belief in exchange of external symbols, i.e., habits, external appearance, and manners. Retention of the old value system.

*Type 3.* Minimal acculturation; retention of external symbols and internal values except in manners of daily contact for shopping and working.

*Type 4.* Actually no acculturation because never member of a group. Rootless individual living on fringes of culture, seeking in new culture the old symbols.

*Type 5.* Acculturation to an ethnic or other minority group. Becomes dependent on living within this group, because not acculturated to core culture.

*Acculturation and Success:* External success in terms of prestige, social and economic status are to a certain extent related to the degree of acculturation. The migrant usually starts out with a handicap compared to the native, unless he brings with him either his skill or a profession which is at a premium in the new culture. If such is the case the migrant will gain rapidly in prestige and actually occupy a higher position in society than he ever would have in his old culture. Such is the case with famous singers or actors; to a certain degree it is true of intellectuals who brought with them certain technical knowledge, and artists, but most of the migrants on the contrary lose status in spite of the fact that they live in better economic conditions compared to the old country. They may be able to earn a very satisfactory living, but because of inability to speak the language, and because of outlandishness in manner, they are not accepted

by the dominant local groups. In other words, they are socially a failure compared to the old country, while they are economically a success because they can afford more luxuries. The migrant who acculturates is likely to be more of a social success.

Because of this social failure certain individuals develop typical defenses against further acculturation. They suddenly start to seek again the ties with the old country; they join ethnic associations and clubs; they attempt to instill in their children the old culture, while many others are busy in being accepted socially by the dominant group. In other words, after vain attempts to acculturate the migrant regresses at least partly into his old culture, because it gives him the feeling of security and acceptance, and if the local group does not recognize him anyway he does not need to go through all the contortions of acculturation.

*Personality Traits:* There are a number of personality traits which facilitate or retard acculturation. Individual personality traits may be closer to or more remote from the national ideal of a culture. For example, the athletic, relaxed, and casual European will fit better into a college environment in America than a stout, tense, and withdrawn individual who contrasts with the American ideal of eternal beautiful youth. Closeness to the local personality ideal, therefore, facilitates acceptance in the new group. This acceptance is based upon the number of desirable traits the migrant possesses in terms of the new culture. The personality makeup of a person may statistically increase his chances of culture contact with the group. If the individual possesses traits which bring him into contact with the institutions facilitating acculturation, he will, after a given time, be more accepted

than the other person who could not establish such contacts. A gregarious, sociable person, seeking admission to clubs or organizations, who talks to his neighbor on the street car and in the drug store, and who goes to the movies and plays with others, has statistically a greater number of contacts; he is able to accumulate experiences; he is offered cues which he can take over from the people he talks to. In contrast, people with a tendency towards isolation, inferiority complexes, introversion and phobic types reduce their chances of culture contact. In these persons acculturation is usually slow. Character traits such as explosiveness, uncontrollable anger, resentment, and tendencies towards antagonizing, will elicit in the local group mechanisms of defense. This in turn reduces the ability of the individual to learn. He is excluded from social contact and his character traits increase the underlying feelings of rejection which may lead to self-destruction.

The type of trait which favors acculturation deals with a kind of cluster which neither upsets the standards of the new group nor is skewed in any direction, so that hostility of the local group cannot be directed against a migrant because of his being different. Traits favoring acculturation are related to being: cautious, charming, cheerful, clever, constructive, conventional, cooperative, curious, enterprising, enthusiastic, friendly, generous, grateful, imaginative, kind, planful, practical, responsive, self-confident, self-respecting, self-controlling, shrewd, tactful, and thoughtful.

Traits which retard acculturation are those which reduce the number of social contacts either through isolation, non-conformance, hostility, or competition. They are: acquisitive, arrogant, assertive,

autocratic, boastful, gloomy, incoherent, dissatisfied, obstructive, short-tempered, inarticulate, evasive, coarse, hostile, thankless, headstrong, dishonest, dull, jealous, mischievous, opinionated, quitting, rebellious, self-pitying, self-distrustful, sensitive, exclusive, tactless, and vindictive.

**Summary:** The personality of the immigrant determines in part speed and

ease of acculturation, which is facilitated by factors such as good motivation, age, intelligence, as well as traits which increase the number of contacts with the native culture. Retardation of acculturation occurs through difficulties in learning by reason of age, lack of contacts, lack of rewards, or through internal interference of ideals and conscience.

## CHAPTER VII

### HOW TO INFLUENCE ACCULTURATION

AMERICA can fulfill its function as a melting pot if social agencies and individual therapists are able to help those people who have difficulties in acculturating to the American core culture. A tentative approach to individuals with difficulties in acculturation is outlined in the following paragraphs:

*Diagnosis of Personality Disturbance:*

One must ascertain first whether there exist gross personality deviations in which the difficulties of acculturation are merely an expression of neuroses in general, or whether there exist specific conflicts related to culture change. Schilder (33) holds that neurotics and psychopathic personalities stop experimentation in social adjustment; the neurotic person being primarily self-concerned; the psychopath being busy rebelling against the existing order—and we might add here the schizophrenic, who through isolation, does not participate in group organization at all. Culture change then precipitates and reinforces pre-existing personality difficulties, because the lack of adaptive behavior is brought to the foreground.

*Diagnosis of Specific Differences in Acculturation:* The next step consists of assessing the basic culture distance involved in the change. If the distance is great, only slight acculturation within the lifetime of the migrant is likely to be possible; the efforts of the migrant then have to be directed in such a way that he can become a member or an ethnic, religious, or occupational group. Socialized in such a manner the patient is a better citizen than if he does not belong to a group at all. If the basic culture distance is small the reverse procedure seems to be indi-

cated, and the patient should attempt to join a native American group. Clarification of possibilities, and socialization presented as a goal, will give the migrant security.

The next step is concerned with the analysis of rewards. If acculturation is rewarded it will be successful and speedy. Frequently, however, one finds that acculturation in itself does not contain any gratification for the individual. The most important gratification is related to the inherent need of any individual to be a member of a group. Adjustment will largely depend upon gratification of this basic need which rewards in terms of love, affection, recognition, praise, and success. In their initial enthusiasm to acculturate, people frequently move away from ethnic groups at a time when they are not yet rooted in the American society. It is at this moment that they lose the gratification derived from being a member of a group and maladjustment begins. In studying the setup of a particular individual, attention should be devoted to an analysis of the source of these rewards. An unmarried individual, for example, may get his rewards from being a member of the native group, while a married individual or adolescent may get his reward by being a member of an ethnic or family group. In the second case the rewards received lie in the direction of retardation of acculturation; in the first case the situation favors adaptation to the core culture. If the rewards pull in two opposite directions, conflict ensues, with results manifest in individual or social pathology.

The fourth step is concerned with the availability of persons and institutions

that can serve as models for transmission of symbols and cues necessary for integration of the migrant's responses. In schools, high-schools, colleges, clubs, associations, evening courses, jobs, and in the neighborhood home one finds the facilities which promote learning. Any contact with an American institution, whether it be for taxation, health, maintenance of order, for charitable or military purposes, transmits to the individual the necessary cues for appropriate reactions. Not only the presence of institutions and situations, but also the number of contacts that occur with the native culture have to be evaluated. Providing samples and ideal models for imitation and copying, and increasing the number of social contacts, becomes a primary task in the therapist's efforts to manipulate the social situation.

The fifth step is concerned with the identification of personality factors retarding acculturation. Change of the value system usually threatens self respect, violates beloved ideals, and gives rise to feelings of fear, shame, or guilt. The resulting defense frequently is expressed in inability to learn this threatening new value-system. Insight therapy then is beneficial. If inability to learn the new value system is the result of isolation and lack of culture contacts, it has to be handled like any other neurosis with symptoms of phobias, autism, or self-destructive tendencies.

*Psychotherapy and Acculturation:* Psychotherapy is a process which helps the individual to experiment with socialization. By yielding a deeper insight into the pattern formation of individuals or groups, it simultaneously increases the insight into the structure of society in which the individual lives and makes better planning possible (33). Insight therapy is concerned with alleviation of

symptoms developed by an over-strict conscience and expressed in shame or guilt. Reduction of these superego symptoms enables the individual to proceed with experimentation in reality. Defense mechanisms detrimental to acculturation, such as isolation, avoidance, and phobias, can be minimized and the chances for culture contact therefore increased. If one considers the three possible reactions to frustration as consisting of progression (sublimation), regression, and aggression, one has to remember that the latter two reactions do not yield any results in culture change and always lead to complete isolation. Psychotherapy has to stress progressive development; the first step is accomplished when the patient accepts the therapeutic situation constituting socialization in a group of two people. Group therapy discussions lend themselves to socialization of the individual in a larger group. Persons tending towards isolation have to be made familiar with the problems of others and made aware of the universality of their conflicts. Attention should be called to a kind of "natural psychotherapy." Children of migrants frequently force their parents to participate in social gatherings connected with school activities, thus performing a therapeutic act.

*Psychotherapy and Class Change:* Therapy is more difficult when the problem involves not only acculturation from ethnic to American, but deals with change of prestige within a community. Social climbing undertaken for compensation of feelings of inferiority is given up when the individual realizes the reason for this compensation. This change of attitude frees the person to devote time and energy to more gratifying activities—being able to accept socialization in the class in which he lives, rather than

striving for change which is even more difficult to achieve. Much harder to tackle is social decline because of rejection of the group's value system. Here self-pity and self-destructiveness are so gratifying that psychotherapy is frequently of no avail. Therapy makes the individual aware of the class-tied nature of his ideals and goals, and prepares the path for accepting the rejected values, rather than rebelling and acting out this conflict in terms of social mobility. Ac-

ceptance of one's own past is the first step in accepting a new way of living and a different system of values.

*Summary:* In problems of acculturation, psychotherapy attempts to remove the internal interference with learning new values, to change the prevailing defense mechanisms to others which will not jeopardize culture contact, and to reward for socialization in either the native or ethnic group in order to increase the basic security of the individual.

## CHAPTER VIII

### DISCUSSION

IN the present investigation an attempt was made to study the dynamics of culture change in relation to illness. Acculturation takes place when a person changes from ethnic to American, from military to civilian life, from one region of the country to another, from rural to urban living, or from one social class to another. This study is concerned primarily with acculturation of immigrants or their children and grandchildren.

In the introduction three questions were raised. The first one raised the problem of culture change being a source of stress and strain. It is quite obvious that a certain amount of culture change is felt as beneficial, inasmuch as traveling and spending time away from home on expeditions and jobs have always been considered of great educational value, and temporary changes of scenery and surroundings are prescribed by physicians because of their effects upon health. When, then, does culture change become a source of stress and strain? This question obviously has to do with the basic security of the individual. Whenever a person has the possibility of reverting to a mode of living which is familiar and which implies the use of a system of values learned in early childhood, culture change is felt as a pleasant experience. However, many of our European immigrants were not confronted with such a choice; they had to accept the new culture because there was no possibility of reverting back to the old one. The necessity for unconditional acceptance of the new culture exerts a tremendous pressure, which may have an undesired effect upon the mental

health of the individual. Similar to the infant, who learns certain things at a certain rate, at a certain time, the adult in undergoing a culture change also must be exposed to a certain rhythm and tempo during this change. Too fast a pace or too slow a change may have an untoward effect upon the individual. Basically, then, one could answer the question raised above by saying that the age of the individual, the possibility of reversion to a previous form of living in case of failure, the motivation for undergoing a culture change, timing, and spacing of acculturation, are features which will determine whether or not acculturation is going to constitute a source of stress and strain.

The second question concerns the type of disease and injury which is related to problems of acculturation. The fact that culture change may be a source of stress and strain is borne out by its influences upon physical and mental health, and substantiated by statistics of morbidity and mortality, suicide, and mental and nervous disease. In more subtle ways culture change can prolong the duration of illness (29) and increase the susceptibility to disease and accidents (28). The choice of pathology, then, is closely related to the problem of conformance and its counterpart, rebellion or non-conformance. The individual who wishes to adapt and to adjust tends to conform; in contrast, the person who does not care to be a member of any particular group is less likely to conform, and the person who makes a point of disagreeing does so in order to express rebellion. Thus, we find in the social climber an example of conformist

attitudes, which result in stress and strain because individual needs cannot be satisfied and emotions cannot be expressed if they are thought to interfere with climbing. A similar example is found in the person who acts out internal conflicts, as well as in the psychopath who rebels against society. Conformance can result in tension states (28, 29, 30), while non-conformance tends to lead to accidents and injuries (22, 28) because of the underlying attitude of aggression and hostility. When the conforming person is successful, promotion and added responsibility are the reward, which in turn spurs further conformance and tension until a vicious cycle is established. The same holds true for the rebellious person, who is punished by isolation, rejection, and restriction of liberty and privileges. Further rebellion is countered by more restriction, until the breaking point is reached.

In addition to these psychosomatic relations, however, the observation was made that various nationalities presented different problems of acculturation. In order to appraise this general cultural factor regardless of the personality type involved, a rating scale for assessing overt behavior as well as attitudes has been constructed and described in detail in the Appendix. The scale is based upon the concept of culture distance, which expresses the behavior patterns of ethnics in terms of similarities or differences with patterns prevailing in the American core culture. The latter was defined as being of Protestant origin, middle-class, and Anglo-Saxon. The core culture is dominant because the first settlers were middle-class, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon people. This value system is operating in novels, newspapers, movies, plays and radio presentations, and makes its appearance whenever

somebody talks about something being typically American. In comparing the degree of similarity and difference between any given behavioral pattern and the one advanced as being ideal in America, the examiner has a tool in his hands which enables him to assess the status of acculturation of an individual to this American core culture. Speed and degree of acculturation can be inferred by comparing the status of an individual at various periods of his life, while patterns of maladjustment reveal themselves in a scattering of behavioral patterns in terms of similarity and dissimilarity with the core culture. It is quite obvious, for example, that an individual who in his attitude towards success and men conforms with the prevailing tendencies in America, but who in his attitude toward women and food habits adheres to his old ethnic standards, will be subjected to certain internal tensions resulting in multiple identities and ambivalent attitudes. In turn, the individual who is fully integrated into the American lower middle class, or who lives according to national and class patterns of his old country, will be internally more secure even though he may be exposed to the pressure of his surroundings.

Among individuals in groups whose basic culture differs from the American core culture, there are variations in acculturation because of individual personality factors. Basically, a secure individual is more likely to do the reasonable and sensible thing than an insecure individual. In turn, security is related to successful childhood identification with the parents and the old culture. However, individuals with good identifications usually do not migrate. Therefore, we deal with the paradoxical phenomenon that whatever promotes and

motivates culture change and migration is the very same feature which prevents successful identification. Stated briefly, one can say that good identification leads to acceptance of the prevailing values, and poor identification to a partial acceptance, regardless of whether or not migration is involved. This is clearly borne out by the children of migrants, who have difficulty identifying themselves with their parents, partly because of a conflict between values of the home and of the surroundings, and partly because the ambivalence of the parents is transmitted to the children. Hence the children cannot identify themselves with and accept the parents.

In addition to personality factors, the "social climate" and institutional procedures of the new country contribute to variations in speed and degree of acculturation. The "social climate" implies the attitudes of the natives, who may welcome migrants or may consider them to be a nuisance. Facility of contact, rewards in terms of status or, conversely, discrimination, waiting lists, quotas, and the like, are expressions of defenses on the part of the old-comers who take precautions so that the newcomers will not destroy the existing system of values. In order to maintain the American system of values migrants are admitted in small numbers only. As the years go by, more and more rights and privileges are given to the newcomer, until equality is reached.

The third question initially raised was related to the therapeutic and pre-

ventive procedures which are helpful in cases in which culture change is responsible for an unusual amount of stress and strain. Speaking of psychotherapy, one might say that the persons who have the greatest difficulties are those who are unaware of the existence of culture change. This is especially true of ethnics who on the surface seem to be perfectly acculturated. Irish, English, and Scotch people, as well as other persons coming from the British Commonwealth of Nations are frequently unaware of the difference in the system of values. Therefore they run into difficulties which are incomprehensible to them. In contrast, the Asiatic, for example, is perfectly aware of his difficulties and of the restrictions imposed upon him. He does not suffer from unawareness but from environmental pressure. The methods of rehabilitation with such people vary accordingly. In the former instance, insight and awareness may help adjustment, while in the latter case it is primarily a question of finding techniques of mastery and compensations which will help to sustain the environmental pressure, since the latter rarely can be changed. Basically, of course, psychotherapy has to work out the problems of motivation for culture change, and touch upon early childhood identifications. Eventually a belated identification can be accomplished through successful identification with the psychotherapist, which in turn will make it possible for the individual to accept the majority of the new values.

## APPENDIX

### CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT OF ACCULTURATION TO AMERICAN CORE CULTURE

**NATIVITY:** "Where were you, your father, and mother born?"

**Criteria:**

1. Native born, native born parents. Native: Continental U.S. and U.S. possessions.
2. Native born, one or two foreign born parents; or foreign born with immigration before age 10.
3. Foreign born, foreign born parents; immigration after 10 and before 40.
4. Foreign born, foreign born parents; immigration after age 40.

**CULTURE OF ORIGIN:** "Where were your grandparents born?" Classify according to the most deviant grandparents.

**Criteria:**

1. Born and educated in the American culture; Continental U.S.A.
2. Born and educated in the British or related cultures, or in a west or north European culture; British Empire, Ireland, Scotland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, U.S. Territories, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Northern France.
3. Born and educated in a Mediterranean or East European culture; Latin countries, Southern France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Balkan nations, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Baltic States, South and Middle American countries.
4. Born and educated in a native Asiatic or African culture; Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Arabian, Persian, etc.

**ATTITUDE TOWARDS AMERICAN CULTURE:** "Did you ever live in a foreign country. Are you interested in foreign countries and languages and do you plan to live and work abroad?" (omit in the rating temporary visits, sight-seeing trips and vacationing)

**Criteria:**

1. Unaware of cultural differences. American culture is the only culture known to the individual, no interest to go abroad.
  2. Likes U.S. culture after having had primary contact with other cultures either abroad or in the U.S. Occasionally critical of U.S. Aware of culture differences, being able to appreciate existence of other cultures.
  3. Feels attracted by European or other cultures. Would like to live abroad in spite of being Americanized.
  4. Completely unadapted to American culture, combined with dislike for American culture.
- The mean score on the three items above is the score for orientation, which*

*later will be compared with the score for present status.*

**ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARENTS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE:** "How old were your parents when you were born? Who was the ultimate authority in your family? Who was the boss at home? Who ran the family? Who dealt out punishment and reward, how and for what?"

**Criteria:**

1. Parents are primarily friends and guides rather than punitive authority. Matriarchal family—structure or authority evenly divided between parents.
2. Parents both have authority but family structure tends to be patriarchal without pronounced hierarchy of status.
3. Patriarchal structure of the family with highly differentiated hierarchy of status. Distance between children and parents great.
4. Patriarchal despotism.

**RELIGION:** "What is your religious denomination; what church do you belong to now? Do you attend religious services?"

**Criteria:**

1. (a) Indistinct religion, i.e., member of any of the large denominations without active participation.
- (b) Religiously orthodox, i.e., having received religious instruction, attends services as a member of one of the following Protestant denominations: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregationalist, Quaker, Unitarian, Christian Scientist, Mormon, etc.
2. Orthodox Roman Catholics, Lutherans, German Baptist Brethren, etc.
3. Eastern orthodox churches, Polish National Catholic Church, Jewish Congregations, etc. Atheists.
4. Moslems, Buddhists, Shintoists, and other Asiatic or African religions.

**NAME:** "What is your full name? Did you change your name?"

**Criteria:**

1. First, (middle) and last name according to Anglo-Saxon use.
2. Either one of the two or three names foreign, or recent change (Americanization) of name.
3. First, middle, and last name foreign or European.
4. Asiatic or African names.

**MOTHER-TONGUE:** "What was the language you spoke with your mother? What was your first language?"

Criteria:

1. American, English, Scottish, Irish, Canadian-English, Australian-English, New Zealandish-English.
2. Eire, Welsh, German, Dutch, Flemish, Northern French, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish.
3. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Finnish, Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Slovak, Slovene, Czech, Yugoslav, Greek, Croatian, Serbian, Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Albanian, Syrian, Yiddish.
4. Japanese, Chinese and other Asiatic or African languages.

ACCENT: Examiner rates the examinee according to his impression.

Criteria:

1. Absence of feeling of difference.
2. Understandable, but evoking in listener feeling of difference.
3. Intelligible with focused attention only.
4. Unintelligible.

READING: "Do you read any foreign language, newspapers, books, periodicals, etc.?"

Criteria:

1. Reads American papers and books only, exclusive of professional publications in foreign languages.
2. Reads American books and papers, but occasionally dabbles in foreign literature.
3. Reads both American and foreign papers and books; enjoys foreign languages.
4. Subscribes to foreign language newspapers and listens to overseas broadcasts only. Does not read American papers, magazines, or books.

EXTERNAL APPEARANCE: Examiner rates according to his own impression.

Criteria:

1. Style: Haircut or hairdo, shoes, hats, clothing according to local fashion and locally made. American standards and fashions.  
Posture: Relaxed, casual, and informal.  
Expression: Changes limited to a few culturally accepted standards. Premium on friendly expression, such as smile.  
Gestures: Minimum of gestures while speaking. A few culturally accepted gestures used when not speaking, e.g., hitch-hiking, backslapping.  
Physical Culture: Within constitutional endowment individual attempts to conform to American ideals of slender, youthful appearance; sportive in men, glamorous in women. Dislike of fat. Ideal of adolescent beauty.
2. Style: Styles about the same, but definitely western European; slight feeling of difference  
Posture Rigid, formal, uncomfortable, soldier-like posture.

Expression: Moderate expression of emotions permitted. Avoidance of expressions of grief and weakness.

Gestures: Gestures not used with speech, but numerous expressive movements such as: bowing, pounding on table, shaking hands, etc.

Physical culture: No concern over body build and weight. Emphasis on clothing rather than on figure. Preference of athletic type in men and women.

3. Style: Styles markedly and purposely different. National European costumes, hats, haircuts, or jewelry worn regularly.

Posture: Pompous, proud, procession-like posture.

Expression: Facial expression not restricted. Accentuation of emotional expression through mimic modulation, quick changes.

Gestures: Expansive gestures. "Speaking with the hands and body."

Physical Culture: Ideal of maturity rather than eternal youth. No premium on athletic figure.

4. Style: Asiatic or African styles.

Posture: Humble, prostrate, cat-like posture.

Expression: poker face, stoic expression, or expression procured through movements of extremities and body rather than of face.

Gestures: Extensive ceremonials and rituals often unintelligible to people of Western culture.

Physical Culture: varying standards; frequently ideal of smallness, daintiness, and neatness. (Little flower)

CHOICE OF MENU: "Which of the following menus seems to suit your taste best for every day use?"

Criteria:

1. Protein eater (Menu One)
2. Carbohydrate eater (Menu Two)
3. Carbohydrate and vegetable eater (Menu Three)
4. Rice and oriental foods (Menu Four)

MENU No. 1

Choice of

Tomato Juice	Oyster Cocktail
Grapefruit Juice	Shrimp Cocktail
Broth	Clam Chowder
Cottage Cheese Salad	Hearts of Lettuce
Roast Beef	Roast Chicken
Hamburger Steak	Porterhouse Steak
Hot-dogs or frankfurters	Roast pork chops
Roast turkey	Deviled crab
	Barbecued ham
	Cranberry Sauce
Baked Potato	Peas
French-fried Potatoes	Baked Beans
Sweet Potato	String Beans

Ice-cream  
Custard

Corn on the Cob  
Pumpkin or Apple Pie  
Strawberry Short-Cake  
Jello

Rye Bread  
Bagle  
Pumpnickel

## Hot Rolls

## MENU No. 2

## Choice of

Spaghetti	Onion soup
Ravioli	Minestrone
Risotto a la Milanaise	Bouillabaisse
Baked Polenta	Fish with garlic sauce
Spanish Rice	Spanish Codfish
Pate de fois gras	Marinated trout
Froglegs	Chicken fricasee
Scallopini (in wine)	Snipe with brandy
Cutlet a la Milanaise	Stuffed Red Pimientos
Veal Stew	Artichokes
Stuffed cucumbers	Braised chicory
Tomato and eggplant	Dandelion Salad
Spanish beans	Crepe Suzette
Endive Salad	Pastry
Cream Puffs	Chocolate Souffle
Baba au rum	Eclairs
Zabaione	Camembert
Gorgonzola	Brie
Bet Paese	
Mozzarella	

French Bread

Garlic Bread

## MENU No. 3

Oatgroats soup	Pea soup and pickled pork
Beer soup with milk	Pig's knuckle
Kasha soup	Smoked Tongue
Eel soup	Cold cuts
Stuffed Pike	Smorgas
Collared herring	Boiled chicken
Pork Sausages in beer	Breaded veal cutlet
Smoked eel	Roast Goose or Duckling
Smoked salmon	Venison or Hare
Goulash	Cabbage sweet sour
Veal Roast	Sauerkraut
Corned Beef	Brussel sprouts
Pot Roast	Mashed potatoes
Brisket of Pork with apples	Potato pancakes
Borth	Potato salad
Potato soup	
Lentil soup	

Horse Radish Sauce

Gray with sour cream

Caper Sauce

Milk rice with Quince	Chocolate pudding
Apple strudel	Nut Cake
Blintzes	

## MENU No. 4

## Choice of

Bird nest soup with chicken	Caviare
Egg soup	Gefillte fish
Chow-mein	Dry fish
Chop-suey	Raw fish
Pork with sour sweet sauce	Chicken curry
Steamed duck	Seekh-Kabab
Pork and vegetables	Lamb Pilaw
Curds	Pickled onions
Mushrooms with Paprika	Steamed rice
Fried rice	

PREPARATION AND CONDIMENTS:—"Do you mind spending time on cooking? Do you just open cans or do you have any preferred recipes? In what kind of restaurants do you eat?"

## Criteria:

1. Quickly prepared dishes; no sauces; no spices; catsup and other condiments added at time of meal. Served in large pieces. Left-overs thrown away.
2. Boiled foods rather than fried foods. Large variety of soups and sauces, with general use of flower and starch and sweet-sour flavor. Meat in large pieces or slices.
3. Pickled dishes, spices and condiments such as garlic, papile and herbs; sour pickles, chives and other hot spices. Fry and cooking in oil. Wine dishes. Meat in smaller pieces or slices.
4. Dishes served in small pieces and various dishes mixed together; soya bean extract.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOOD: "Do you really enjoy eating or do you consider it a routine?"

## Criteria:

1. Food is nourishment, but no particular sensual gratification. Convenience and expediency greatest concern. Emphasis on food hygiene, vitamins, and calories.
2. Quantity rather than quality is concern. Food is enjoyed; cooking no art.
3. Food is sensual gratification; cooking is an art. Taste and appearance of greatest importance.
4. Taste and appearance of food important. Special taboos regarding meat. Great variety of delicately flavored foods, leisurely way of cooking and eating. One big meal a day.

NON-ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES: "What is your preferred non-alcoholic drink?"

## Criteria:

1. Coffee, milk, fruit juice, cola drinks, milk shakes.
2. Tea, chocolate, cocoa, cider.
3. Lemonade, goat milk, buffalo milk.
4. Chinese tea.

**DRINKING HABITS AND ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES:** "What is your preferred alcoholic drink? What do you drink before, at, and after dinner? What do you serve when friends drop in?"

## Criteria:

1. No separation of sexes for alcohol consumption. Cocktails before dinner, highballs after dinner. Preference for cocktails made of whiskey, gin, rum. Beer with food.
2. Wine drunk primarily with meals. No separation of sexes while drinking. Preference for sherry, port, brandy, and punch.
3. Wine often drunk alone without food. Men gather around a glass of wine or beer in afternoon or evening. Women consume only with meals. Getting drunk reserved for men. Liqueurs after dinner, aperitif before dinner. Sweet wines and liqueurs.
4. In some cultures liquor is prohibited. Intoxication is admissible but reserved for men. Sweet drinks of alcoholic nature, other than those known in western civilization.

**RECREATION:** "What do you like to do in your spare time? What did you do last Sunday?"

## Criteria:

1. Passive, non-organized type of relaxation, such as dawdling around the house, visiting friends, listening to the radio, reading the papers, taking a drive, going to a show or having a dinner date, playing cards. Spectator sports, such as baseball, football, basketball, ice-hockey, and horse races, as well as gambling are enjoyed. No separation of sexes except when men go for occasional hunting or fishing trips or attend to other outdoor activities and women to sewing and knitting. Getting away and the company are more important than the skills involved.
2. Active, organized type of relaxation, such as pursuance of hobbies and crafts, membership in sports or country clubs, playing of musical instruments, collections; tendency to separate the sexes. Skilled sports such as: skiing, skating, riding, mountain climbing, golf, tennis, etc. The skill is more important than the community.
3. Social activities only, with or without separation of sexes. No sports. Recreation frequently postponed until night time, and street and night life frequently pursued by men only.

4. Recreation only for men, women for amusement of men and for working. Sports actually do not exist, except demonstration of manly skills connected with hunting, warfare or ceremonials.

**CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS:** "Which of these series of traits describes you best?" (Print each series on separate cards and have examinee choose one. Vocabulary was chosen to fit various levels of education; however, explanation of meaning of words can be volunteered if considered necessary)

## Criteria:

1. Sense of humor, casual, warm, conformist, playful, fair, vivacious, healthy, good sport, happy-go-lucky, self-sufficient, tough.
2. Serious, dignified, knows his place, strong and silent, formal and polite, reliable, aristocratic, exclusive, romantic, plotting, proud, philosophical, dutiful.
3. Sensuous, emotional, flirtatious, impulsive, dramatic, excitable, intense, suspicious, vindictive, artistic, show-off, heroic.
4. Stoic, ritualistic, distant, over-polite, save face.

**IDEAL TRAITS WISHED FOR:** "Which of the following series of traits describes best what you would like to be?" (Print each series on separate cards and have examinee choose one. Vocabulary was chosen to fit various levels of education; however, explanation of meaning of words can be volunteered if considered necessary.)

## Criteria:

1. Relaxed, democratic, casual, successful, easy-going, energetic, fair-minded, tough, flexible, cheerful, enterprising, non-argumentative, resourceful.
2. Courageous, heroic, original, ascetic, deliberate, many interests, conscientious, restraint, cultured, productive.
3. Famous, sensuous, charming, high-strung, impulsive, affectionate, verbose.
4. Preserve face. Maintain personal dignity and prestige. Never be rushed or embarrassed.

**ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN:** "Do you think that women have the same rights as men, and should they work in the same fields? Do you think a woman should continue to work if she were married and had financial security and no children? What makes women happier, to stay at home or work for a career?"

## Criteria:

1. Women emancipated, they vote and work. Status not related to marriage. Women considered equal to men.
2. In theory women have less rights than men, which fact may be compensated by subtle advantages of the women.
3. Women have no public rights. Protected and chaperoned; little participation in public

life which is run by men. Spinsters and divorcees have not the same status as married women. Different moral standards for men and women.

4. Women are obedient servants of men; do not appear in social life.

**ATTITUDES TOWARDS PUBLIC AND SUCCESS:** "Under what circumstances would you consider yourself successful? Name three successful persons and point out their successful features? What do you do to increase your popularity? With whom do you care to be popular?"

Criteria:

1. Winning the public is of prime importance; therefore seeking publicity, running for office, campaigning and advertising oneself are considered permissible and desirable activities. Success is measured in terms of money and popularity. The cultural striving therefore is: to make money, to become popular. Getting along in a group, being accepted, winning friends and influencing people, getting ahead, and being a good wife, husband, or parent is valued.
2. Campaigning and seeking publicity are considered in bad taste. Moral subterfuges necessary to seek limelight. Prestige usually based upon achievement. Success is synonymous with honor, respect, and perfection. Striving for satisfaction and skill in chosen vocation, if basic economic needs are satisfied. Success less dependent upon money than upon reputation.
3. Differential attitude towards public varying according to class and caste. Tradition and family status separate the people and limit their possibilities. Success means to be able to enjoy epicurean and exhibitionistic pleasures such as love, food, or arts. Success is measured in terms of exhibition of power, beauty, and charm regardless of the moral implications.
4. Success implies the obligation to conform with tradition, religion, family, and ancestors. The cultural striving therefore is: to observe rigidly certain codes and rules for the welfare and reputation of past and future generations of the family. Acceptance of destiny or fate results in passivity and progressive inability to handle reality.

**RESIDENCE:** Determine the nature of the section in which examinee has his permanent residence. The nature of the area is determined by its exclusiveness, the type of house, the income of its inhabitants, their social class membership, and ethnic origin.

Criteria:

1. Resides in section determined by class membership. If member of lower class, less separation from ethnics than when member

of middle or upper class. Mixes with neighborhood group.

2. Resides in area which is neither ethnic nor American. Does usually not mix with neighborhood group.
3. Resides in white section of definitely foreign or ethnic character. Mingles with ethnics of own national group.
4. Resides in section inhabited by members of the pigmented races.

**ASSOCIATIONS:** "Do you belong to any clubs, lodges or associations? Are you an active participant or an officer or official of any organization? Why did you join it?"

Criteria:

1. If a joiner, belongs to American type of lodge, club, or association without ethnic slant. Usually belongs to more than two. Same friends as in childhood. No ethnics among closer friends.
2. Member of lodge with ethnic flavor, but emphasizing the tie with America. Some ethnics among friends; preponderance of friends, however, are Americans.
3. Member of fraternal association the aim of which is to maintain ties with the old country; preponderance of ethnics among friends or at least fifty per cent ethnics.
4. Member of national and political association with seat abroad, or organization based upon the province and clan of origin. Friends are primarily of own race.

**FESTIVITIES AND SPECIAL OCCASIONS:** "What holidays do you celebrate? When do you celebrate? When do you celebrate Christmas and how?"

Criteria:

1. Partaking in official or local holidays of American characters: e.g., Thanksgiving, Fourth of July, Mormon holiday July 24th, etc.
2. Partaking in holidays or occasions with partisan or ethnic flavor; e.g., St. Patrick's Day, Christmas on December 24th. Celebration in the American style.
3. Partaking in festivities with ethnic character. Foreign style in celebrating holidays such as Easter of Whitsuntide; Jewish holidays.
4. Partaking in festivities not generally known in Western civilization. Chinese New Year, Indian dances, etc.

**MUSIC:** "What kind of music do you listen to when you turn on your radio? Do you own any records and what kind? Do you ever go to concerts? What is your favorite music piece?"

Criteria:

1. Popular American music: jazz, jitterburg, musical comedy, swing, boogie-woogie, Bing Crosby, negro spirituals, etc.
2. Semi-classical and classical music, waltzes, light music, opera, etc.

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